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"Nothing is more clearly written in the Book of Destiny, than the Emancipation of the Blacks; and it is equally certain that the two races will never live in a state of equal freedom under the same government, so insurmountable are the barriers which nature, habit and opinion have established between them." JEFFERSON.

[From the African Repository.]

MR. KENNEDY'S REPORT ON AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

The following very able Report, on the memorial of a Convention of the friends of African Colonization, submitted by Mr. Kennedy, of the Committee on Commerce, to the House of Representatives of the Congress of the U. States, embodies facts and statements of the highest importance to the honor and interests of our country and humanity. The memorial which suggested it, and which we also publish, is one of the last, and best papers ever drawn by the hand of that lamented friend of Africa and the human race, FRANCIS S. KEY, Esq. a name brightly associated with the purest and most precious virtues of the christian character. The friends of African colonization from every section of the Union, should appeal to the next Congress for aid to their enterprise. The promotion of innocent commerce and the suppression of the African slave-trade, are objects clearly comprehended within the powers of that body, and an appropriation of $20,000 to encourage the people and extend the territory of the colonies of Liberia, would, we doubt not, effect more for these ends than thrice the amount expended in any other way. While no proper means should be neglected of increasing the donations of benevolence to the Society, the efforts of all its friends should be constantly and earnestly directed to secure the co-operation of the States and General Government. How vast the good which an annual appropriation even of $5,000 from each legislature of the Southern States would accomplish!

HON. J. P. KENNEDY, FROM THE COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE SUBMITS THE FOLLOWING REPORT.

The Committee on Commerce, to whom was referred the memorial of the friends of African Colonization assembled in convention in the city of Washington in May last, beg leave to submit the following

REPORT:

The necessity of making some provision for the colonization and settlement of the free colored population of this country began at an early period to attract the attention of the public. During the administration of Mr. Jefferson, the State of Virginia made an application to the General Government for aid in this purpose. That State desired to originate some measure which should provide an asylum for this population, either on the coast of Africa or in some other appropriate region beyond the limits of the Union. Resolutions were more than once adopted by its legislature expressive of the in-

terest which the State felt in the subject, and of the importance attached to it; and at length the governor was directed, in 1816, when Dr. Finley was employed at Washington in his memorable enterprise of establishing the American Colonization Society, to correspond with the President for the promotion of that design. The assistance of the Senators and Representatives of the State was invoked to the same end.

The society was founded in December, 1816. It comprised many eminent individuals from the several states; was characterised by its freedom from sectional distinctions; enlisted the aid of men from every quarter of the Union, and was generally received and applauded as a beneficent and highly national undertaking.

Its design as set forth in an article of its constitution, was to act in 'co-operation with the General Government and such of the States as might adopt regulations on the subject.' Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee and Georgia were the first to respond to the invitation invoking their assistance. They passed resolutions recommending the subject to the country, and generally announced their accordance in the opinion, expressed by Mr. Jefferson, that it was desirable the United States should undertake the colonization of the free people of color on the coast of Africa.

The Society very soon after its organization, laid its plans before Congress, and solicited the countenance and support of that body. The best disposition was manifested towards it, and it may be set down to its praise, that one of the earliest and most valuable results of its labors was the adoption by Congress of more energetic measures for the suppression of the slave-trade. That trade was denounced as piracy, and subjected to the penalties of such an offence. Foreign States were invited to co-operate in the effort to destroy this trade by treating it in the same manner; and upon this foundation has eventually grown up that active and, it is to be hoped, effective hostility to the traffic which shall succeed in its ultimate abolition. In regulating this subject at that time, Congress passed an act by which the right of any State to dispose of captured Africans brought within the territory of the United States, in contravention of its laws was revoked, and the President was clothed with authority to restore these unfortunate beings to their native country.

Mr. Monroe, believing that the benevolent views of Congress, in reference to re-captured Africans, demanded that due provision should be made for their shelter, sustenance, and defence, temporarily at least, after their arrival in Africa, and that this could only be secured through the services of an agent empowered to superintend the subject by actual personal examination and assistance, interpreted this act to confer the powers which he deemed essential to its effectual application. This opinion he communicated to Congress by special message, and expressed his determination to proceed in the accomplishment of the objects of the law by co-operating with the Colonization Society in the selection of a station for the temporary or permanent residence of such Africans as might be brought within the description of the case provided for.

Proceeding still further in the same design, when the society had obtained possession by purchase of the tract of country since designated by the name of Liberia, Mr. Monroe directed that the re-captured negroes should be placed upon its soil, under the care of an agent of the government, with such supplies and assistance as might enable them, should they desire it, ultimately to attain the advantages which it was the purpose of the society to secure to those who might, under their auspices, voluntarily engage in the establishment of their colony.

Thus the colony of Liberia rose into existence, both as a home for re-cap-

tured Africans restored by the humanity of our government to their own country, and as a well organized community of free colored men, prepared and disposed to extend their useful arts, civilized laws, and christianity both along the coast and into the interior of Africa.

About half the states of the Union have expressed their decided approbation of the scheme of African colonization, and the citizens and legislature of Maryland have proceeded to plant a flourishing colony at Cape Palmas. Through the efforts and under the influence of the American Colonization Society, nearly twenty eligible tracts of country have been purchased between Cape Mount and Cape Palmas, and on many of them promising settlements established. The enterprise is demonstrated to be practicable and capable of indefinite extension. Though the colonies embrace but a few thousand emigrants, their salutary influence is widely felt and many thousands of the native population have sought their protection, submitted to their laws, and enjoy the advantages of their instructions. Able and disinterested citizens of the United States have from time to time devoted themselves to their interests, and under the authority of the colonization societies have assisted them to frame their social institutions, their governments and laws. They exhibit to the eyes of a barbarous people the model of a free, temperate, industrious, civilized and christian society. They have legislative assemblies, courts of justice, schools, and churches. Though having enjoyed in this country, but very imperfect advantages of improvement, and left it with small means, they have done much for themselves and much for civilization and christianity; have enacted laws for the extirpation of the slave-trade, and wherever their rightful authority exists executed them with vigor. They have successfully engaged in agriculture and lawful commerce. They have opened the way for many christian missionaries, of different communions to the heathen tribes, and afforded them protection and facilities in their work. In fine, Liberia and the Maryland settlements at Cape Palmas present themselves to this country and the world, not only as eligible asylums for our free colored population and for such as may become free, but as republican and christian states informed by the elements of indefinite growth and improvement; capable, duly countenanced, and guarded against the interference of unfriendly powers, of rising to honor and greatness, and of diffusing the influence of their laws and example over wide districts of Africa.

Adverting to the fact that the suppression of the slave-trade has been almost from the origin of this government an object of interest to our people, and that it is now still more earnestly sought for by enlightened nations; that this trade being nurtured mainly in the *barbarism* of Africa, may be soon checked and ultimately overthrown by the efforts of the colonies planted by our citizens; that the colonies now established have most obviously stimulated the industry of the natives, in their vicinity, have created a commerce which promises every day to become more valuable, and have auspiciously begun the beneficent labor of African civilization; that they furnish shelter and refreshment to our own ships and seamen, and are growing into importance as ports and depots for our naval squadrons; and above all, that they have been founded by the benevolence of our citizens and public authorities, with the laudable purpose of giving a safe and prosperous home to that portion of our population, who, however disqualified by our laws or our habits from being incorporated, with advantage to themselves, into our political society, are still entitled, as dependants upon our guardianship, to our sympathy and support—adverting to all these considerations the committee are of opinion that the colonies of Liberia and Maryland now existing, and those which may hereafter be established on the African coast, may

justly invoke the regard of the government and ask from it some measure of protection and support.

In what mode and to what extent these should be afforded, is a question of more doubt and greater difficulty. Many of the earliest and most distinguished friends of African colonization, both in and out of Congress, regarded the efforts of the American Colonization Society as experimental and preliminary to the action of Government, and soon after its origin avowed the opinion "that Congress ought to be requested to take under its protection the colony already planted, to make provision for its increase by suitable appropriations of money, and by authorizing the President to make further purchases of land from the natives, as it might be wanted; to provide for its security, internal and external, by such regulations for its temporary government as might be deemed advisable, by authorizing the President to employ a suitable naval force, as well for the more effectual suppression of the slave-trade, as for the purpose of impressing the natives with respect for the establishment, and to make provision for the purchase from time to time, of suitable territories on the south-western coast of Africa, for the establishment of other similar colonies as fast as they could be formed, with due regard to the national resources and to the public good."

An application to Congress for such aid was urged by the late General Harper in a report made by him, as chairman of a committee, to the society in 1824, and although he observed "it might be doubted whether on a subject so vast in its consequences and connections, and so new, Congress would act immediately, this did not furnish any sufficient reason for delaying the application. Time must be allowed for viewing the subject in all its bearings, for reflecting on it maturely, and for public opinion to receive and communicate the proper impulse. Nothing," he adds, "the committee apprehend, will tend so effectually to produce and hasten these desirable results as full discussions and explanations of the whole subject in Congress."

Whilst the committee duly appreciate those high considerations of patriotism and philanthropy by which the opinions just cited were sustained, and cherish the belief that at a period not very remote the enterprise of African colonization is to be prosecuted by this nation with an energy and on a scale far transcending any as yet realized, in the actual condition of the colonies now planted, they see grounds for hope that at a moderate expense and with that aid and countenance which can be readily granted, without fully assuming all the hazards and responsibilities of a system of colonization, their permanency, growth and prosperity may be secured.

It is vitally important that the territory of the colonies should be enlarged and that their jurisdiction should become clear and incontestible over the whole line of coast between Cape Mount and Cape Palmas, a distance of about three hundred miles; and that in case of hostilities between this and any European country their rights as neutrals, should be recognized and respected. The increase of legitimate commerce on the western coast of Africa is already strongly tempting the enterprise of English merchants, and serious difficulties have arisen between British traders claiming rights, independent of the government of Liberia and Maryland within their territorial limits. Naval officers of Great Britain have been called on by British subjects to interpose and defend them against the revenue laws of the colonies; and the French, the committee are informed, have sought to obtain a cession of lands within the limits of Liberia just referred to, and to which the people of that colony have a pre-emptive right.

As neither Great Britain nor any European Government, has to the knowledge of the committee claimed political jurisdiction from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas; as such claim if by possibility it exists, has arisen long since

the colonies were founded; as those who occupy these settlements have gone thither to establish for themselves, their posterity, and multitudes who may follow them, a republican commonwealth, capable of indefinite enlargement, it is essential that they be not disturbed in the exercise of rights already acquired, or precluded from extending their authority over the entire line of coast, (from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas) generally known as Liberia. An appropriation of a few thousand dollars to enable the colonists to effect negotiations with the native chiefs, by which the native title to this region of Africa should be extinguished, and the jurisdiction of their government over it rendered unquestionable, would in the judgment of your committee, whether regarded as a measure auxiliary to the suppression of the slave-trade or to the interests of American commerce be highly expedient. In all treaties for the purchase of lands, it might be stipulated that on the part of the African chiefs the slave-trade should be forever abandoned, and their attention directed to the more gainful pursuits of agricultural industry, and to the exchange of the rich products of their country, for those of the manufacturing skill of this and other civilized nations. The people of the colonies, thus encouraged, would co-operate most effectively with our naval squadron in carrying out the humane and philanthropic purpose of the recent treaty, for the overthrow of the slave-trade and become factors and agents to increase and extend American commerce in that quarter of the world. It is believed that $20,000 thus expended would effect more for the furtherance of both these objects, than $100,000 expended in any other way.

The committee have abundant evidence, to which they refer in the documents accompanying this Report, to show the increase of lawful commerce on the African coast, and that for want of adequate protection, and the due attention of our Government to the subject, it has been prosecuted by our own citizens under great disadvantages. To the testimony of Dr. James Hall, a gentleman entitled to full confidence, and who has resided long in Africa, the committee invite the special attention of the House. This testimony is confirmed by the information recently given to the world in the report and accompanying documents of a committee of the English House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the condition of the British settlements and their relations to the native tribes of Western Africa. The annual imports from Western Africa into this country probably exceed a million of dollars, and into Great Britain are about four millions. The palm oil trade now becoming of great value had hardly an existence twelve years ago, is rapidly increasing, and may be increased to an almost indefinite extent. Hitherto the slave-trade has been at war with all improvement and every kind of innocent commerce; its cessation will be succeeded by the cultivation of the soil, and the growth of trade in all the varied and valuable productions of the African climate. It is of infinite importance that the natives of Africa should be convinced that agricultural labor, and the substitution of lawful trade for the infamous commerce in human beings, will be for their advantage and that in their intercourse with them, our own merchants should possess every privilege granted to those of England, or any other nation.

The establishment of a commercial agent, (as recommended by Dr. Hall) to reside in Liberia, and occasionally to visit in a government vessel, various points on the coasts, to ascertain the best sites for mercantile establishments, to form conventions and treaties of commerce and for the suppression of the slave-trade with the principal chiefs, to take charge of the stores and other property sent out for our ships of war, to guard the rights and interests of our seamen and secure for American vessels a free and unrestrained right of trade at all important stations, the committee would recommend as an object urgently demanded by interest and humanity.

The time has arrived in the opinion of the committee when this subject of African colonization has become sufficiently important to attract the attention of the people in its connection with the question of the political relations which these colonies are to hold with our Government. Founded partly by the private enterprise of American citizens, and partly by the aid of Federal and State authorities recognized as political communities by our laws, and even owing their regulation in some degree, to the legislation of a State of this Union, (as in the case of Maryland) they have attained a position in which, obviously, they must very soon become objects of consideration to the world, both for the commerce which may be under their control, and for the agency they are likely to exercise in the final disenthralment of the continent to which they belong. It may speedily become apparent to the observation of christendom, that the slave-trade may more certainly, effectually and cheaply be destroyed by the colonial power on shore, than by all the squadrons of Europe and America afloat. The growth of such a conviction will inevitably draw an anxious and a friendly eye towards the American colonies, from every power which sincerely pursues the charitable work of relieving Africa from her horrible traffic, and mankind from the reproach of permitting it. The influence of such a sentiment, we may conceive will greatly advance the interests and magnify the value of the colonies. It would appear to be our duty, before an occasion of conflicting interest may arise, to take such steps towards the recognition of our appropriate relations to these communities, as may hereafter secure to them the protection of this Government, and to our citizens the advantages of commercial intercourse with them.

The idea of an American colony is a new one. It is manifestly worthy of the highest consideration. The committee see nothing in our constitution to forbid it. We have establishments of this nature, though somewhat anomalous in the character of their dependence upon our Government, in Indian tribes which have been placed beyond the limits of the states on the purchased territory of the Union. The African settlements would require much less exercise of political jurisdiction, much less territoral supervision, than is presented in the case of these tribes. They would require aid towards the enlargement of territory, occasional visitation and protection by our naval armament, a guarantee, perhaps, to be secured to them by the influence of our government, of the rights of neutrality in the wars that may arise between European or American States. They would stand in need of the highest commercial privileges in their intercourse with this the mother country; and the reciprocation of such privileges on the part of the colonies towards our own citizens, would doubtless be an object to be secured on our side. Questions of commercial regulation would frequently arise demanding the care and supervision of this Government. The profitable trade of our citizens may be deeply involved in the adjustment of such questions. The interest which we may have hereafter in this subject is one which it would be impolitic for us to neglect or abandon.

The committee without further exposition of a subject which presents topics for large discussion and which abounds in considerations of the highest magnitude and concern, have thrown out these general views, in the hope that the attention of the country may, at an early moment be attracted to their examination, through which a plan may be devised for the permanent and prosperous guidance of the colonies. For the purpose of aiding in this examination, and in illustration of the views contained in this report, the committee have appended sundry documents hereto, to which they beg leave to refer.

They submit with this report the following resolutions:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the increasing importance of the colonies on the western coast of Africa, both in regard to the commerce of that coast and their influence in suppressing the slave-trade, renders it expedient that an agent should be appointed by the government to protect and advance the interests of American trade in that region; that said agent should reside at some convenient point in the said colonies; and that he should be empowered to form treaties or conventions with the native tribes on the coast of Africa, for the advancement of American trade, and for the suppression of the traffic in slaves.

And be it further resolved, That the subject of settling the political relations proper to be adopted and maintained between this government and the colonies now established, or which may hereafter be established on the coast of Africa, by the citizens or public authorities of the United States, or any of the States, be referred to the Secretary of State, with a direction that he report thereon to the next Congress.

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

The Convention of the friends of African Colonization, assembled at the city of Washington, respectfully represents—

That in the course of its recent proceedings, it became necessary to take into consideration the present condition and prospects of the colonies of the free people of color from our country, which have been established on the western coast of Africa. Your memorialists in the investigation of this subject, were necessarily led into many inquiries closely connected with the products and trade of that continent, and particularly the slave-trade, its present extent, the various plans for its suppression and the causes of their failure. Believing that they have acquired in the course of their investigations, a valuable mass of information from the most authentic sources, touching all these interesting subjects, they have deemed it their duty to place some of the results of their labors, before the American people, and their representatives, now assembled in Congress.

It is generally known that the scheme of forming colonies of the free colored inhabitants of the United States, in Africa or elsewhere, originated with the legislature of Virginia in the year 1802, when a resolution was passed directing inquiries to be made of the practicability of its accomplishment. A subsequent resolution of the same legislature was passed in 1816, and a similar one by the legislature of Maryland, calling for the aid of the general government. Nothing of a more decisive character appears to have been projected in relation to the subject at that time. It, no doubt, became a matter of thought and conversation among our benevolent and patriotic countrymen; who could not fail to know from their own observation and experience, and from the history of the world in all ages, that the existence of two distinct races of men, under the same government, was a great and growing evil. They saw that the marked distinction between them, could never be obliterated; that their co-existence in the same land with equal rights and privileges had never been found practicable. They knew that this evil was not one of choice, but forced upon our country, in times of darkness, and when under the dominion of another government. They felt that the people who aspired to the honor of holding up to the world the spectacle of a free and equal government, were bound to make every effort to redress every wrong, to remove, at any cost, any thing that threatened public peace and the perpetuity of their institutions.

It is not strange that with such thoughts and feelings, they should be brought to hope and to believe in the practicability of such an enterprise. They saw the difficulties were great, but they saw the power to be applied to their removal, also great. The remembrance too, of what had been done to make their country what it was, gave hope and courage for what remained to be done to make it what it ought to be. They trusted still more than all to the Providence that rules the destinies of nations; to whose approval and help, in such an effort, they knew they could not look in vain. To that help they had trusted greater in difficulties and far sorer trials, and had been delivered; and could not doubt now that it would be as freely and as fully given, to enable them to ennoble that deliverance, by the accomplishment of such a purpose.

A hope and belief, thus awakened, animated Robert Finley, of New Jersey; and he came to Washington in the winter of 1816–17, on no other errand than to propose this scheme, and impart his own feelings of confidence in its success to his countrymen. It was the closing act of a useful and honored life as a minister of the gospel, and became him as a man, a patriot and a christian. The hopes of his own heart were gradually kindled in those of others, and in the course of a few weeks, he had secured the approbation and co-operation of most of the distinguished statesmen in Congress and other citizens from each section of the Union. The subject was well considered and matured, a meeting called, and the American Colonization Society thus organized. Its whole object and purpose was declared to be the colonization of the free people of color of the several States, with their own consent on the coast of Africa.

The first measure adopted by the society was to send agents to that coast, to ascertain the nature of the country and its products, the character and condition of the natives, and the practicability of procuring a suitable territory and establishing a settlement among them.

When satisfied upon these subjects by the information thus acquired, further measures were adopted which led to the acquisition of the desired territory, the transportation of the first free colored colonists, and their establishment in the land of their ancestors.

The history of their progress and success has been given in the annual reports and publications of the society, exciting so great and general an interest among our countrymen, that auxiliary societies were formed in aid of the object in almost all the States, most of whose legislatures also, have at various times passed resolutions of approbation and encouragement. Some of the most important of these publications, bearing upon the subjects which seem now to deserve your consideration, and the resolutions of Virginia and Maryland before referred to, with some of the proceedings of the State legislatures and of Congress, your memorialists beg leave to present, with this memorial. They also exhibit more recent and most interesting documents, showing the present condition of the colonies thus established, and of those parts of the African coast where a commerce has been opened of the most inviting character, developing vast and hitherto unexplored resources of that great continent, presenting the prospect of new and most extensive markets for our products and manufactures, and offering in exchange the rich productions of Africa. They present also, with these papers, recent authentic statements shewing the present unexampled extent and barbarity of the slave-trade, and the utter failure of all the plans and operations by which its suppression has been attempted.

Among the various sources of information upon these interesting subjects to which the Convention has had access, your memorialists beg leave particularly to refer to the statements of Dr. Hall, of Maryland. This gentle-

man conducted the enterprise which resulted in the establishment of the flourishing colony at Cape Palmas, under the auspices of the legislature and people of Maryland, in 1831. For several years past he has been personally engaged in commercial pursuits on the coast, and from his opportunities of information, high character and intelligence, the utmost reliance may be placed on his representations. He attended the meetings of the Convention, and his answers to the inquiries of the members are deemed so important that they were afterwards obtained in writing, and are now herewith submitted.

Your memorialists have thus been enabled to collect from various sources, and lay before Congress information upon subjects of great national importance, in relation to which, both our people, and the Executive and Legislative Departments of our Government have, on all occasions, manifested a deep interest. These are—

1. The African Slave-trade.

2. The lawful commerce now opening with the African Continent. And

3. The colonies of colored emigants from our country, situated on that coast, and their intimate and important connexion with the trade of Africa, and a large and interesting portion of the population of many of our States.

It has been justly our boast that the legislature of our country was the first to denounce the trade in human beings that has so long desolated Africa and disgraced the world.

Other nations have united in this condemnation, and now, and for many years past, it has been marked by the indignant reprobation of every civilized people.

But the censure of the world, the solemn treaties and declarations of nations, the severest enactments for its punishment, and most earnest efforts for their enforcement, have all been in vain. Your memorialists now lay before you, decisive and recent proofs that the slave-trade has not only continued, but increased—increased both in extent and atrocity. Prosecuted as an illegal and prohibited traffic, it is now conducted by miscreants destitute of every human feeling, stimulated by its inordinate profits, in small fast-sailing vessels, where these crowded and wretched victims are sacrificed with a wantonness and barbarity hitherto unknown, and which would have shocked even the hardened pursuers of this trade at an earlier period. You will observe, among the papers presented, a calculation made from recent and creditable information, showing that the number of the slaves that reach their destination, out-living all the horrors of their seizure, the march to the coast, their detention there, and the fearful and fatal passage in the hold of the slave-ship, constitute but a small proportion of the whole number subjected to these accumulated and inhuman outrages. This appalling calculation shews that the whole number of victims thus sacrificed amounts annually to *half a million!*—that instead of diminishing, it is increasing, and in a new form and character of unexampled cruelty.

Such is the present state of that trade which the Congress of the United States, upwards of 20 years ago, branded with its proper name of Piracy, which all the civilized nations of the earth have proclaimed to be against all law human and divine; which they all profess to have prohibited; which the two greatest maritime nations of the earth have resolved should be abolished, and against which their naval forces have been arrayed. One of these nations, and the one most able to carry this resolution into effect, has most earnestly and zealously, and with vast labor, expense, and perseverance, attempted its accomplishment. Her cruisers have been stationed on both sides of the ocean, watching the shore stained with blood where this merchandise of human misery is freighted, and the shore equalty polluted as

its point of destination, they have searched through all frauds and disguises for the guilty prosecutors of this trade, with tribunals prepared for their condemnation; and her own statesmen and philanthropists publicly acknowledge the lamentable result of these great means and efforts to be as we have stated.

She has made many captures, rescued many captives. Of the offenders thus taken, none, it is believed, have been punished otherwise, than by the loss of their plunder. Of the captives, many, it must be acknowledged, have never been delivered from the fate to which they were destined. The profits of the trade are represented to be so enormous, as to enable "offences gilded hand to shove by justice," and those who should enforce the obligations of laws and treaties, are either unwilling or unable to interpose their authority. While it is doubtful whether even where captures have been made, the good intended has been accomplished, there is no doubt that vast numbers have escaped.

We are thus brought to the sad conclusion, acknowledged by those who have been most engaged in the investigation of this subject, and most competent to form a decision—that nothing has been accomplished by all these means, to rescue Africa from outrage and the world from this reproach. Nay, it is still more sad—the evil has been aggravated—and it is seen and acknowledged that no better results can be expected from any further use of these means alone. Sir T. F. Buxton, a gentleman who has been conspicuous for his efforts to procure the abolition of the slave-trade, and his researches and publications upon this subject, says in a work of recent date, that—

"It is however, but too evident, that, under the mode we have taken for the suppression of the slave-trade, it has increased. It has been proved by documents, that cannot be controverted, that for every village fired, and every drove of human beings marched in former times, there are now double. For every cargo then at sea, two cargoes, or twice the numbers in one cargo, wedged together in a mass of living corruption, are now borne on the waves of the Atlantic. But whilst the numbers who suffer have increased, there is no reason to believe that the sufferings of each have been abated, on the contrary, we know that in some particulars these have increased; so that the sum total of misery swells in both ways. Each individual has more to endure; and the number of individuals is twice what it was. The result, therefore, is, that aggravated suffering reaches multiplied numbers.

"I do not see how we can escape the conviction, that such is the result of our efforts, unless by giving way to a vague and undefined hope, with no evidence to support it, that the facts I have collected, though true at the time, are no longer a true exemplification of the existing state of things. In the most recent documents relating to the slave-trade, I find no such consolatory surmise; on the contrary, I am driven by them to the sorrowful conviction, that the year, from September, 1837, to September, 1838, is distinguished beyond all preceding years for the extent of the trade, for the intensity of its miseries, and for the unusual havoc it makes on human life. Once more, then, I must declare my conviction that the trade will never be suppressed by the system hitherto pursued. You will be defeated by its enormous gains. You may throw impediments in the way of these miscreants; you may augment their peril; you may reduce their profits; but enough, and more than enough, will remain to baffle all your efforts. Better to do nothing, than to go on, year after year, at a great cost, adding to the disasters, and inflaming the wounds of Africa."

This gentleman will be found to be fully confirmed in these fearful con-

clusions, by the documents contained in the Parliamentary papers of England, the reports of the commissioners to Lord Palmerston, and his despatches and correspondence.

If then it be plain, that nothing can be expected from continuing the measures hitherto pursued, but the aggravation of this evil, the only inquiry should be, are there any other measures that may prove more successful?

Is there any remedy?

Your memorialists are sure that our people and our Government, have the same interest and feel the same desire, they have ever manifested to adopt such a remedy, if there be one. In the language of the Committee of Congress in 1822, "So long as it is in the power of the United States to provide additional restraints upon the odious traffic, they cannot be withheld consistently with the justice and honor of the nation."

They do not wish that any department of our Government should engage, from mere benevolent impulse, in rash adventures of doubtful humanity. They know that, with us, limits have been wisely assigned to those in whom power has been confided, which are not to be transgressed. The slave-trade has been already declared to be, and treated as, an evil within these limits. And most justly. For it wars, not only upon defenceless Africa, but upon all the nations of the world, affecting directly the peaceful commerce of all; tempting the cupidity of their citizens to evade their laws, and disgrace their institutions, and debasing and brutifying, in a school of the most monstrous iniquity, crews of pirates and plunderers, the enemies of all mankind.

They have therefore the consolation of believing that their researches, in relation to a subject within the legitimate powers of Congress, have enabled them to bring such facts and circumstances to its notice, as shall show that there is a remedy for this wrong and a remedy also equally within the sphere of its undoubted powers.

This remedy is to be found in the lawful commerce of Africa.

This commerce is already developing the vast resources of that great continent, inviting all nations, and most emphatically and peculiarly, ours, to participate in its advantages. The substitution of this trade for that which now debases and desolates her, is the claim which Africa now makes upon the civilized nations of the world. Nor is it addressed merely to their sympathy for the sufferings of an oppressed outcast from the family of nations, nor to their indignation against her cruel spoilers, nor to the retribution which they owe for past participations in her oppressions. She shows, in all her plains and forests, that the same benignant Providence that has scattered its gifts over other lands, has been bountiful and profuse to her, and she can thus call them to a commerce that shall enrich themselves, and civilize and deliver her. So that inducements are presented to all, to the humane, to engage in a work of mercy and justice, and to the selfish, to seek that gain that flows from the peaceful intercourse of nations.

Already is this remedy in operation, already producing its humanizing results upon the shores of Africa. This commerce has begun, and is rapidly increasing. Our citizens, with their characteristic enterprize, have successfully embarked in it; and all that need be asked for it from our Government, is the same protection and encouragement that are extended to our commerce with other countries.

The answers of Dr. Hall, and the other papers submitted by your memorialists will show the disadvantages under which it labours for the want of this protection and encouragement, and the important consequences to be expected when the same aid and facilities are extended to it, that are given to other branches of our commerce. With these papers will be found the

reports of our naval officers, and particularly one from Com. Nicolson, to the Secretary of the Navy, suggesting the growing importance of this trade, and the necessity of commercial agency on the coast. Since then, the trade, and consequently this necessity, have greatly increased.

Other nations are awakened to just perceptions of the importance of this growing trade, and acquisitions of territory and settlements upon the coast of Africa have been made and are now projecting, with the view of participating in this commerce, by the British Government, and also recently by France. These anticipations of great commercial advantages from the trade with that continent cannot be thought unreasonable when it is considered, that it is estimated to contain a population of one hundred and fifty millions of people, inhabiting a country of extraordinary fertility, abounding in as great a variety of valuable productions as any other portion of the world.

Your memorialists cannot doubt that Congress will see, from the proofs they are prepared to exhibit, the propriety of securing, by proper measures, to our citizens, a just share in these advantages, and that a great and growing trade is now presented to us, of sufficient consequence, on its own account alone, to justify the fostering care of our Government.

But its intimate and close connexion with the subject already mentioned is obvious.

It is by the substitution of lawful commerce with Africa, that the slave-trade is to be abolished.

This is the only measure that has hitherto been successful; wherever it has been offered to the oppressed natives of that continent, it has been accepted; and none can doubt that wherever they can be brought to see, that there are all around them rich gifts of Providence valuable to other nations, they will offer them in the interchanges of peaceful commerce, and gladly renounce the inhuman system of mutual rapine and destruction to which they have been stimulated.

Congress will see from the documents and publications ready to be presented by your memorialists that there is now but one opinion upon this subject. Our own officers and citizens who have been familiar with the coast of Africa, those of England whose situations in her navy, and as governors of her settlements, have had the most ample means of observation, all concur in confirming what the American Colonization Society declared, after her agents had explored the western coast, that no measures for the suppression of the slave-trade, confined to operations on the ocean, could arrest it, that it must be assailed where it originates, on the land. The coast is now known to be bordered by feeble and scattered tribes, who are the intermediate agents, between the powerful kings and chiefs in the interior, who seize and bring down their gangs of slaves, and the slave ships who purchase and transport them. They receive and keep the slaves in large receptacles, till the arrival of the slave ships, and make all the arrangements for their confinement, support and embarkation.

This intermediate agency is essential to the trade, and it is plain that a small, active naval force upon the coast can break it up, destroy the factories, and disperse the foreign miscreants, who establish and conduct them.

Your memorialists presume that there could be no just objection to such application of force, if necessary, as all civilized nations, having now concurred in denouncing the slave-trade, would be willing and desirous it should be so applied.

There can be no difference between force on the ocean to re-capture and release the slaves from the slave ships, and its application on shore, to rescue them before they are embarked, except that the latter would be the only effectual way to accomplish the object. If however such objection

should be thought worthy of consideration, there can be no doubt that all nations would unite in negotiations to remove it by common consent.

It will be seen by the documents thus submitted, that the native Africans themselves are ready to abandon this agency, and that treaties and arrangements can be easily made with them, presenting inducements under the influence of which they are willing to relinquish it. It will appear that this has already been accomplished to a considerable extent, so that, by these means, there are now several hundred miles of coast, delivered from the horrors of the slave-trade, and where a lawful trade has been substituted.

The effects produced by this abandonment of savage life, and the adoption of a system which gives them peace and security, and encourages industry and improvement, must attract the attention of the neighboring tribes, and produce a salutary influence upon them.

Our Government has already the honour of being the first to propose to other nations some system of united action against a trade which is a common offence, and a common reproach to the world. In 1820 it denounced it as piracy by our laws. In 1822, the House of Representatives passed a resolution authorizing the President to open a negotiation with the other maritime nations, for the purpose of making it piracy by the law of nations. In 1823, in the correspondence between Mr. Adams and Mr. Canning on the right of search, then as now, asked, by the British Government, it was proposed by the former, as a substitute for the right of search, to carry out the purpose of this resolution, and make it piracy. The same proposition was made through our Ministers to other nations.

This substitute was urged by Mr. Adams, as a stronger and better remedy than that proposed by the British Government, as one that would "more effectually accomplish the great object of suppressing the trade, than any other measure we could adopt."

Your memorialists are entirely confident that the honor and interests of our country will be maintained in the negotiation now again pending between these two Governments upon the same interesting subject. They are also equally confident of the sincerity of the British Government in endeavoring to adopt such measures as shall result in the complete extinction of the slave-trade.

But in the course of their inquiries they have been brought, by the documents and publications before referred to, to the conclusion, that whether any agreement in relation to the right of search or examination can be made, or not, some other measure far more decisive and efficient must be adopted by the two Governments, either in connexion with it, or as a substitute for it, or nothing important will be accomplished.

The substitute proposed by Mr. Adams in 1823, however desirable in itself, and however acceptable it might be if considered practicable, by the British Government, would require time, and perhaps have to encounter long and difficult negotiations with other maritime powers.

But a measure appears to your memorialists to present itself in the papers before referred to, in itself sufficient, and indispensable as they believe, to effect the desired object. That measure they have already suggested. Let them unite in giving to Africa a free and lawful commerce. Let them visit her coast in concert, open all the avenues and facilities to a peaceful and profitable intercourse, remove all obstructions, and present to her people a commerce that shall enrich and civilize her, in the place of that which now desolates and debases her.

Thus shall they execute the great and humane purpose to which they have pledged themselves, redress the wrongs of Africa, free the world from its shame, and open to their own people new sources of prosperity and new fields of enterprize in the boundless resources of that great continent.

As African colonization will be the most efficient ally, as it has already been, in accomplishing these great results; directly and powerfully aiding in the introduction of lawful commerce, and in the suppression of the slave-trade, your memorialists hope they may be excused for calling the attention of Congress to the protection they have been directed to ask in behalf of the infant and interesting settlements upon the coast. If, as friendly ports upon a distant and barbarous coast, where American trade to a considerable amount now exists, and is rapidly increasing in extent and importance, they afford the aid and facilities necessary to commerce, they are entitled, for the sake of commerce, to adequate protection.

If, as ports of the same description, they afford refreshment and succor to our public vessels cruising in those seas, and if by their influence and the advantages they afford to natives, they promote the abolition of the slave-trade, then are they also, for the sake of the abolition of the slave-trade entitled to adequate protection. That they are most important instruments in effecting both these great purposes is abundantly shown in all their past history, and will appear in the papers submitted.

It may be superfluous with these claims to protection, to say any thing of their own merits.

In fact, so closely connected is African colonization, with African commerce and the suppression of the African slave-trade, that any measure calculated to effect either of these objects necessarily promote the others. If therefore the proper and usual measures, such as are every where applied to the wants of commerce, are adopted for the protection of our citizens engaged in such pursuits on the African coast; and if the measures necessary for the final termination of the slave-trade are now put into vigorous execution, the incidental protection they will afford to the colonies, such as the presence of a small portion of our naval force and the establishment of commercial agencies and other necessary arrangements for the safety and convenience of our merchant vessels, will be all they require.

It should not however be forgotten that they have claims of their own, to the patronage and countenance of the General Government.

They originated in the humane policy of our laws. The act of 1819, required the President to discharge duties which made it necessary for him to send agents to reside on the coast of Africa, to receive and protect the native Africans delivered from our slave ships, or illegally brought into our country. With these agents were also sent the necessary means to enable them to fulfil these duties. Among the colonists now in Liberia, are these liberated Africans, and those on whom they have continually depended for protection. They are now civilized and useful citizens of a free and prosperous settlement. The President of the United States, in a special message to Congress, at the succeeding session, communicated the regulations and arrangements thus made for the execution of the act of 1819, and from that time to the present an agent has resided on the coast, and the instructions to our Naval officers visiting the coast, and their despatches to our Government, show that the protection of these settlements has been always an acknowledged national duty.

It should also be remembered that they have merits of their own, independent of the great services they are rendering in the aid and facilities they present to our vessels and citizens trading on the coast, and to the efforts of our Government in suppressing the slave-trade.

They afford to the States of the Union the means of removing their free coloured population. This has been long and ardently desired by many of them from motives of humanity to this class of their people, as well as of advantage to themselves. Applications have been made to Congress for

aid, in various ways, to the accomplishment of this object by several of the States. And your memorialists respectfully suggest that one measure particularly requested by the States of Virginia and Maryland, seems now to require consideration. Both these States have asked for the settlements of our colored people on the coast of Africa, now established and such as may be hereafter established, that our Government should enter into such negotiations and arrangements with other nations, as may secure the safety and neutrality of the colonies to be thus planted.

Mr. Jefferson's letters on that subject at an early period, show that he approved of this suggestion, and gave it his support, and directed some measures to be taken by our ministers at foreign courts preparatory to its execution. They have hitherto, from their very interesting character and situation, attracted the sympathy and respect of all nations, so that it has not been thought necessary to resort to such arrangements in their behalf. But the commerce of Africa now opening to the world is likely to present new and most important changes in the situation of that coast, where trade and the acquisition of territory for commercial settlements are now in considerable progress, so that it may be highly desirable to resort now, or at such convenient occasions as may present themselves in our negotiation with other Governments, to the proper and necessary mutual arrangements to secure the safety of all such settlements, and place both the trade between them and Africa, and our citizens and the coast, on just grounds of equal advantage.

Your memorialists conclude by expressing their hope that the views they have thus presented, and the proofs by which they are sustained, will enable the wisdom of our national legislature, to apply the means they may think proper to accomplish objects greatly interesting in many ways, to the prosperity and honor of our Government, and to the cause of human improvement and happiness throughout the world.

F. S. Key,
E. Whittlesey,
R. R. Gurley,
H. Lindsly,
H. L. Ellsworth,
Committee of Colonization Convention.

We copy the following letter from Gen. Scott as one of the signs of the times that cannot be mistaken. He is not only sound in doctrine, but has the sagacity to *come out* on this subject, which we predict will be the all absorbing one in the presidential canvass for '48, if not for '44. In fact, the relative position of the white and coloured population in the United States in the present age, is, even more than democracy, our distinguishing characteristic, and the only one which assumes a threatening aspect. The sooner the prominent political men come out upon this matter, the better for themselves and their country.

GENERAL SCOTT AND THE SLAVE QUESTION.

The following letter from General Scott, giving his views on the subject of domestic slavery, has lately been published. It is addressed to the editor of the Danville (Va.) Reporter:

Washington, *February* 9, 1843.

My Dear Sir,—I have been waiting for an evening's leisure to answer your letter before me, and after an unreasonable delay, am at last obliged to reply in the midst of official occupations.

That I ever have been named in connexion with the presidency of the United States has not, I can assure *you*, the son of an ancient neighbour and friend, been by any contrivance or desire of mine; and certainly I shall never be in the field for that high office unless placed there *by a regular nomination.* Not then, being a candidate, and seeing no near prospect of being *made* one, I ought perhaps, to decline troubling you or others with my humble opinions on great principles of State rights and Federal administration; but as I cannot plead ignorance of the partiality of a few friends, in several parts of the Union, who may by possibility, in a certain event, succeed in bringing me within the field from which a Whig candidate is to be selected, I prefer to err on the side of frankness and candor, rather than, by silence, to allow any stranger unwittingly to commit himself to my support.

Your inquiries open the whole question of domestic slavery, which has in different forms for a number of years agitated Congress and the country.

Premising that you are the first person who has interrogated me on the subject, I give you the basis of what *would* be my reply in greater detail, if time allowed and the contingency alluded to above were less remote.

In boyhood, at William and Mary College, and in common with most, if not all, my companions, I became deeply impressed with the views given by Mr. Jefferson, in his "Notes on Virginia," and by Judge Tucker in the Appendix to his edition of Blackstone's Commentaries, in favour of a gradual emancipation of slaves. That Appendix I have not seen in thirty odd years, and, in the same period, have read scarcely any thing on the subject; but my early impressions are fresh and unchanged. Hence, if I had the honour of a seat in the Virginia Legislature in the winter of 1831-'2, when a bill was brought forward to carry out those views, I should certainly have given it my hearty support.

I suppose I scarcely need say that, in my opinion, Congress has no colour of authority, under the Constitution, for touching the relation of master and slave in a State.

I hold the opposite opinion in respect to the District of Columbia. Here, with the consent of the owners, or on the payment of "just compensation," Congress may legislate at its discretion. But my conviction is equally strong that, unless it be step by step with the Legislatures of Virginia and Maryland, it would be dangerous to both races in those States to touch the relation between master and slave in this District.

I have from the first been of opinion that Congress was bound by the Constitution to receive, to refer, and to report upon petitions relating to domestic slavery as in the case of all other petitions; but I have not failed to see and to regret the unavoidable irritation which the former have produced in the Southern States, with the consequent peril to the two colours, whereby the adoption of any plan of emancipation has every where among us been greatly retarded.

I own, myself, no slave; but never have attached blame to masters for not liberating their slaves—well knowing that liberation, without the means of sending them in comfort to some position favourable to "the pursuit of happiness," would, in most cases, be highly injurious to all around, as well as to the manumitted families themselves—unless the operation were general and under the auspices of prudent legislation. But I am persuaded that it is a high moral obligation of masters and slave-holding States to employ all means, not incompatible with the safety of both colours, to meliorate slavery to extermination.

It is gratifying to know that general melioration has been great, and is still progressive, notwithstang the disturbing causes alluded to above. The more direct process of emancipation may, no doubt, be earlier commenced and quickened in some communities than in others. Each, I do not question, has the right to judge for itself, both as to time and means, and I consider interference or aid from without, except on invitation from authority within, to be as hurtful to the sure progress of melioration, as it may be fatal to the lives of vast multitudes of all ages, sexes and colours. The work of liberation cannot be *forced* without such horrid results. Christian philanthropy is ever mild and considerate. Hence all violence ought to be deprecated by the friends of religion and humanity. Their persuasions cannot fail at the right time to free the master from the slave, and the slave from the master; perhaps before the latter shall have found out and acknowledged that the relation between the parties had long been mutually prejudicial to their wordly interests.

There is no evil without, in the order of Providence, some compensating benefit. The bleeding African was torn from his savage home by his ferocious neighbours, sold into slavery, and cast upon this continent. Here, in the mild South, the race has wonderfully multiplied, compared with any thing ever known in barbarous life. The descendants of a few thousands have become many millions; and all, from the first, made acquainted with the arts of civilization, and, above all, brought under the light of the Gospel.

From the promise made to Abraham, some 2,000 years elapsed before the advent of our Saviour, and the Israelites, the chosen people of God, were, for wise purposes, suffered to remain in bondage longer than Africans have been on our shores. This race has already experienced the resulting compensations alluded to; and as the white missionary has never been able to penetrate the dark regions of Africa, or to establish himself in its interior, it may be within the scheme of Providence that the great work of spreading the Gospel over that vast continent, with all the arts and comforts of civilization, is to be finally accomplished by the black man restored from American bondage. A foothold there has already been gained for him, and in such a scheme centuries are but as seconds to Him who moves worlds as man moves a finger.

I do but *suggest* the remedies and consolations of slavery, to inspire patience, hope, and charity on all sides. The mighty subject calls for the exercise of all man's wisdom and virtue, and these may not suffice without aid from a higher source.

It is in the foregoing manner, my dear sir, that I have long been in the habit, in conversation, of expressing myself, all over our common country, on the question of negro slavery, and I must say that I have found but very few persons to differ with me, however opposite their geographical positions.

Such are the views or opinions which you seek. I cannot suppress or mutilate them, although now liable to be more generally known. Do with them what you please. I neither court nor shun publicity.

I remain, very truly, yours,

WINFIELD SCOTT.

T. P. Atkinson, Esq., *Danville, Virginia.*

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